601 to others, ego would refer to his father as "father." Direct address is used when he directly addresses his kin. Thus, in front of his father, ego would call him "papa" instead of "father." Terms of direct address have great use in daily life and all kinship relations are expressed through them. Therefore they should not be neglected in our discussion.

We shall start with ego's generation. Like the Chinese, the Lolo have four special terms of indirect address for elder brother, younger brother, elder sister, and younger sister, but the situation is slightly different in direct address. Elder brothers and sisters call the younger ones by name without any special term. On the other hand, younger brothers and sisters address the elder ones according to a definite order, that is, elder brothers and sisters are numbered according to the order of their birth and thus conveniently addressed (for details, see Appendix 1, "Lolo Terms of Direct Address," Table 1). There are respectively five terms of direct address for elder brothers and five for elder sisters. If a person has six elder brothers, then he would use the same term of address for his sixth elder brother as for the fifth elder brother. As a matter of [162] fact, the lack of population growth and the high mortality rate among the Lolo makes it exceedingly rare to have more than five brothers in a family. The children of father's elder brothers are all called elder brothers and sisters in their age order, even though some of them may be younger than ego. On the other hand, the children of father's younger brothers, whatever their age, are called by their names. There is, however, in Lolo language a collective term, ma dzz gni mo, for all Lolo elder and younger brothers and sisters to denote their general relationship. The terms of address not only express personal relationship, but also regulate the behavior pattern within this relationship. For instance, intermarriage between Lolo males ● [582] and females in the ma dzz gni mo relationship is absolutely forbidden. In an extended application of the term, all male and female members of the same generation in the patrilineal clan, due to their common brother-sister relationship, are also not allowed to marry each other.

In addressing the elder and younger brothers of father's generation, there is one term for lineal kin and another for collateral kin, which includes father's elder and younger brothers without any age distinction. That is to say, the Lolo term of address is unlike the Chinese in that it does not distinguish between father's elder brother and younger brother; similarly the Lolo have only one term of address for father's elder and younger sisters without any age distinction. The Lolo term

601 which of course is erroneous. By comparing and analyzing the Lolo kinship system and the concomitant interpersonal relationships and living conditions within this system, it becomes obvious that the Lolo have a paternal lineage. Patrilineal kin-
602 ship is the basic element in clan cohesion, and the clan village is the center of social organization. The Lolo, however, also maintain close contact with maternal kin, especially in the affinal relationships, where the custom of intermarriage for a number of generations results in multi-kinship ties. Hence apart from the members of the paternal clan, maternal kin form the group mostly closely related to ego's life.

601 The children of mother's brothers, who are ego's male and female maternal cousins, are all directly addressed according to their age order (see Appendix 1, "Lolo Terms of Direct Address," Table 4). Wives of mother's brother's sons are addressed by ego as elder or younger sisters, while husbands of mother's brother's daughters and ego address each other as elder or younger brothers. Ego and ego's brothers
582 have the priority of selecting mates from among mother's brother's daughters; similarly, mother's brother's sons also have priority in selecting their mates from among ego's sisters. In other words, the Lolo practice intermarriage between the children of a brother and of a sister, called "cross cousins" in English. Cross cousins and parallel cousins are two appos-
601 itive terms. Children of elder and younger brothers are "parallel cousins" and so are children of elder and younger sisters, although they differ in Chinese terms. Children of elder brother and younger sister or those of elder sister and younger brother are all cross cousins, for which there is in the Lolo language a collective term, o zie a sa. This is in apposition to the term ma dzz gni mo, and the relationships they refer to are also opposite. In the former relationship, cross cousins
[582] have preferential marriage privileges, whereas in the latter, all brothers and sisters as well as parallel cousins are forbidden [34] to intermarry.

Cross-cousin marriage between the paternal and maternal clans is practiced generation after generation; consequently, the formation of kinship terms of address has been influenced by these marriage relations. Take, for example, the kin of the maternal grandfather's generation. The term of address for mother's mother is the same as for father's father's sister, which means that ego's maternal grandmother is probably also ego's paternal grandfather's sister. Likewise the terms of address for mother's father's [editor's emendation, originally, "mother's mother's"] elder and younger

[49]

CHAPTER 5

MARRIAGE

582 Lolo society offers no exception to the fact that the starting point of the family organization is the union of the male and female in marriage. Their social tradition gives rise to certain marriage regulations which govern the formation of kin groups as well as the relationship between men and woman in society. Some of the more important regulations are described below.

582 564 First, since the class system is strictly observed in the Lolo community, there is absolutely no intermarriage between the black and white Lolo. In other words, they practice class endogamy. Black Lolo males can only have females of the same class; similarly, white Lolo slaves who belong to another class have to choose mates from among members of their own class. The social regulation as such is very 836 694 564 rigid, though natural instincts among the sexes may lead to illicit love affairs on certain fortuitous occasions without due regard to the regulation. Such offenses are heavily punished. Thus, when a black Lolo female has unlawful relations with a white Lolo male, both are put to death. The man is forced to commit suicide by leaping into a river or from a rock; the woman takes poison or hangs herself. Within the Liang Shan community, this punishment is enforced very strictly [though there are exceptions like the following]. In 1928, after Yang 836 564 626 558 T'u-szu of Lei-po had passed away, his wife, the daughter of An T'u-szu of Sha-ma, who was then a beautiful and romantic woman of twenty, cohabited with her house manager, a white Lolo named Yang Shou-hsüan. Therefore she was despised by the Lolo, and according to Lolo tradition, both sides should be put to death. Nothing happened, however, because there was no t'u-szu in the district to enforce the penalty. Nevertheless, An T'u-szu of Sha-ma disowned her as his daughter, while the black and white Lolo in her household, no longer considering her as the mistress, all deserted her. Fortunately, the daughter of Yang T'u-szu, named Tai-ti, who is now twenty-two and knows a little about worldly affairs, has been able to restore somewhat the family fortune and prestige which have greatly deteriorated.

836 While intermarriage between black and white Lolo is
564 customarily prohibited, an illicit relationship between a black
848 Lolo male and white Lolo female is tolerated. The children of such a relationship are called "yellow bones," that is, offspring of "black bone" males and "white bone" females. The "yellow bones" are accepted by neither the black nor the white Lolo, and their social position is quite precarious. It is similar to the position of the mulattoes, the offspring of the White and the Negro in America.

582 Secondly, marriage within a Lolo clan is prohibited.
614 All marriages have to be [50] sought outside the clan. This is called clan exogamy. In Chapter 2, clan organization has been described in detail. Through a single-descendant patrilineal family, the Lolo are able to preserve the unity of the clan groups mainly through clan exogamy. According to their tradition, brothers and sisters have a ma dzz gni mo relationship and no marriage is allowed between them. This kind of brother-sister relationship is extended to collateral branches to include father's brother's sons and daughters and eventually all the males and females of the same generation [who are descended from males] within the patrilineal clan, all of whom are strictly prohibited to intermarry.

593 Within the Lolo family, brothers and sisters both grow up under parental protection. Their relationship is affectionate but formal, and licentious behavior between them is absolutely forbidden. Although love affairs are quite common among the Lolo, a brother should not flirt with another girl in front of his sister. Similarly, a man is not allowed to flirt with a girl in the presence of her brother; otherwise her brother would beat him, and their quarrel, once stirred up, might lead to a clan feud. Male and female members of the
602 same clan, between whom marriage is prohibited because of
614 age-old traditions, usually behave toward each other in accordance with a formal code of propriety.

582 Thirdly, since the Lolo have to select their mates from within the same class but outside the clan, what kind of family group is the best from which to seek an ideal mate? According to Lolo tradition, the ideal marriage partner is ego's cross-cousin; hence there are numerous cases of cross-cousin marriage. In Lolo families, if a girl's paternal aunt has a boy and the boy's maternal uncle is the father of the girl, then the boy's family has priority in sending a matchmaker to negotiate for the girl's hand. For this reason the maternal uncle dare not marry his daughter into another family. Likewise, the son of a girl's maternal uncle has the

582 same priority over her, a daughter of his paternal aunt. Therefore, there is a mutual marriage relationship between the sons and daughters of the two families. One can find many evidences of this form of cross-cousin marriage from Lolo kinship terms.

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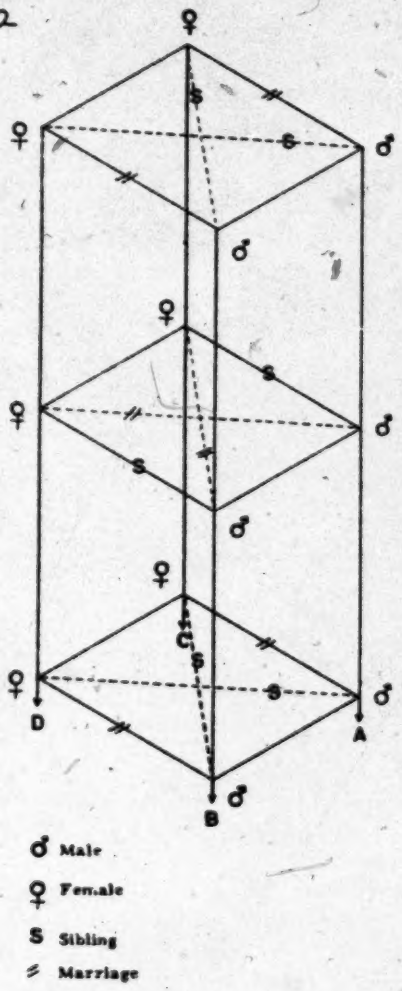


Because of his marriage to maternal uncle's daughter, the boy also calls his father-in-law maternal uncle and his mother-in-law maternal uncle's wife. Hence the son-in-law is also the sister's son. On the other hand, because of her marriage to the son of her paternal aunt's family, the girl calls her husband's mother paternal aunt and her husband's father paternal aunt's husband.

Cross-cousin marriage is not unilateral, but multiple. The boy also sometimes marries the daughter of the paternal aunt; so he calls his mother-in-law paternal aunt and his father-in-law paternal aunt's husband. In this case, the son-in-law is also the wife's brother's son. [51] The girl is sometimes married to the son of the maternal uncle; therefore she calls her husband's parents maternal uncle and maternal uncle's wife. In that case the daughter-in-law is the husband's sister's daughter.

582 [601] Since the Lolo have practiced cross-cousin marriage for generations, there are no special kinship terms of address between wife's parents and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. The two clans of the son-in-law and daughter-in-law are bifurcated from the wife's clan, which in turn is bifurcated from the mother's clan. The relationship between the patrilineal and matrilineal clans is the closest as they are continuously interlinked through marriage. To illustrate this interrelationship between cross-cousin marriage and clan organization, the above figure is given.

In the solid rectangle, the three parallelograms represent three generations, namely, father, son, and son's son. The straight lines from the four corners A, B, C, and D denote their descending lineage, the male from father, son, to son's son, and the female from mother, daughter, to daughter's daughter. In the first generation, A and B are two males, each representing a clan and each having a sister. D, the sister of A, is married to B as wife; C, the sister of B, is married to A as wife, that is, A and B marry each other's sister. In the second generation, the children of A and B, because of the priority of cross-cousin [52] marriage, are also mutually matched, so that the son of A marries the daughter of B, and the son of B marries the daughter of A. Thus the children of A and B have a double cross-cousin relationship. To the son of A, the daughter of B is father's sister's daughter as well as mother's brother's daughter. To the daughter of B, the son of A is father's sister's son as well as mother's brother's son. In the third generation, again because of mutual cross-cousin marriage, the relationship reverts to the formula of the first generation. The daughter of A's daughter is married to the son of A's son, and the daughter of B's daughter married to the son of B's son. Thus each returns to her original clan. In other words, intermarriages between the clans of A and B are all cross-cousin marriages; thus in principle, cross-cousin marriages can be practiced without end from generation to generation.

605 835 Because of their priority in marriage, Lolo cross-cousins treat each other quite differently from the way brothers and sisters treat each other. Cross-cousins of the opposite sex who have preferential marriage privileges can make love freely among themselves; they can play and flirt with each other and eventually have sexual relationships. This is quite different from the strict relationship between brothers and sisters, who never act loosely toward each other. 000 Therefore it can be seen how customs and traditions mold individual

000 behavior and attitudes and how they regulate interpersonal obligations and duties.

582 605 Fourthly, Lolo preferential marriage is limited to cross-cousins, including ego and father's sister's daughter or ego and mother's brother's daughter. As to parallel cousins, in addition to father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter and ego are also prohibited from contracting marriage relationships. This prohibition of maternal parallel-cousin marriage is quite different from the Han-Chinese custom and may be due to the Lolo emphasis on the maternal lineage. The children of the maternal aunt are treated in the same way as the children of the paternal uncle. In the Lolo [601] language, mother's sister's children are also addressed as ma dzz gni mo, denoting a relationship similar to that between brothers and sisters. Therefore they are accorded the same treatment.

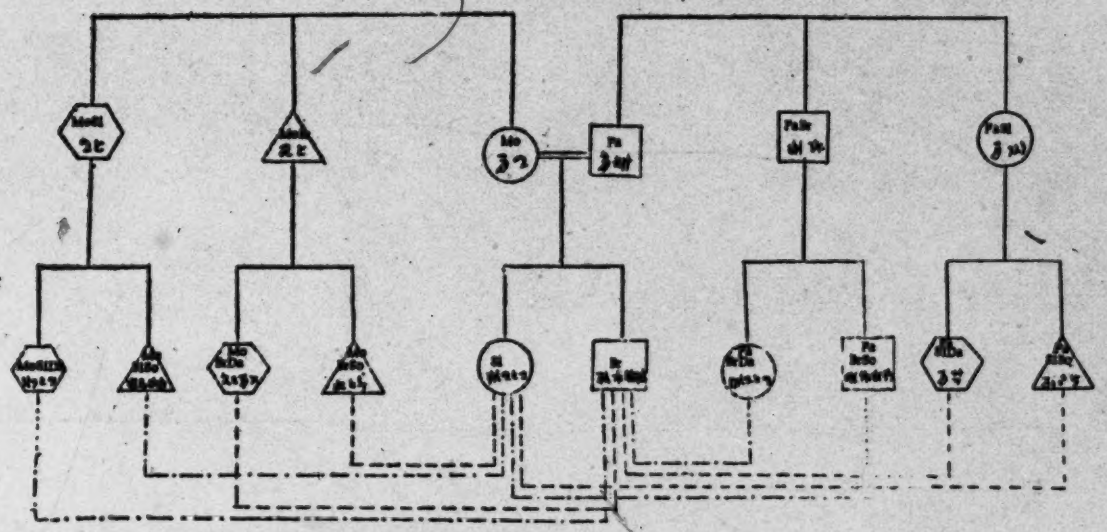
582 To make it easy to understand, a chart is given on the following page to indicate the marriage relationship or the interdiction of a marriage relationship between brothers and sisters of the same generation and between male and female cousins of different categories.

587 Fifthly, the Lolo practice the levirate, which means that a man marries the widow of his deceased brother, whether an elder or younger brother. This tradition is quite different from the Han-Chinese, but may have the same origin as the adelphogamy of the Tibetan people, or a variation of it. As a 587 whole the Lolo levirate tends to keep the womenfolk within the 614 clan. Once a woman has entered a clan, she is not supposed to remarry into another, but can only be transferred by marriage within the clan so that she will remain forever its member.

[53 - Chart appears here.]

587 [54] The levirate is known as "marriage transference within the clan branch." Transferring the marriage to an elder or younger brother of the deceased's generation is considered good form. If there is no blood brother, then a male paternal cousin from the nearest in kinship to the most distant is also acceptable. The practice of marriage transference has had a long history and prevails among the Lolo everywhere. Today the levirate is practiced not only within the same generation, but there is also the practice of the nephew's marrying the widow of father's younger brother or the younger uncle's marrying the widow of brother's son. Cases like these are quite numerous. For example, the wife of our second headman-protector, Li-ch'ü Lao-mu, is En-cha

A CHART ON THE MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIP
OF CROSS COUSINS AND PARALLEL COUSINS



Priority in marriage

Interdiction in marriage

J: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

596 wealthy families. Polyandry is prohibited in Lolo society; but because of their loose sexual concept, polyandry is sometimes secretly practiced. Young girls in their teens could have free [836] love and intercourse with young men, especially male cross-cousins with whom they disport and have fun. This will be discussed in more detail later on.

595 [55] Polygyny is often motivated by the political ambition of Lolo leaders who want to expand their influence through 557 the connections of their wives' families. Hu Hsing-min, for example, was one of them. Considering that the influence of Li-ch'ü shih's branch alone was not strong enough for him, he also married Wu-ch'i shih to increase his power and status through connection with the Wu-ch'i branch. In a Lolo polygnous family, wives have equal social status. They call each other sisters. Without regard to their own ages, the first wife is the elder sister and the second wife the younger sister. Each wife has a separate household and property, unlike the Han-Chinese, among whom wife and concubine stay together but have unequal social position. Before the Lolo man takes a second wife, he has to appease his first wife by offering her oxen or sheep, or sometimes a horse. He also has to reach [607] an understanding with his wife's brothers by entertaining them with food and wine. Without their consent in advance, he may run into trouble and have disputes that will develop into a clan feud.

581 As a whole, these marriage practices not only regulate the Lolo's sexual life and their kinship and clan structure, but also their daily behavior and even their political and economic activities. The marriage relationship has the same importance in Lolo society as in other societies. Marriage is the biggest event and the most important transitional stage in life as a young man and woman go from love to marriage and from marriage to the establishment of the family.

000 Adolescence is the beginning of the sexual period, during which, no matter whether male or female, all are eager to act. But every society has its own traditions, and the behavior of the male and female is subject to their influence.

582 Lolo customs prefer early marriage. The woman's marriageable age is usually odd-numbered, the favored age being nine, eleven, thirteen, fifteen, seventeen, and nineteen. During 302 her childhood the girl usually keeps her hair in a single braid 884 behind the head. At the time of marriage, she changes her hair style to two braids doubled up on the head. Therefore, a double braid and a single braid serve respectively as symbols of the married and unmarried women. But if a girl is

567 [435] physical strength. A young and able-bodied person, whether male or female, can fetch quite high a price. For children and old feeble persons, the price is cheaper. Han-Chinese slaves first taken to the Lolo territory are sold over and over again, changing hands several times, before the Lolo master dares keep them for good. Often Han-Chinese slaves from the Lei-po area were sold at Sikang while Han-Chinese slaves from Chao-chüeh were sent to the Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien area to prevent them from escaping.

There are many Han-Chinese slaves in the Liang Shan region. No matter whether it is a black or white Lolo household, it has at least one or two slaves. After entering the mountain, it is very difficult for Han-Chinese slaves to flee the tiger's mouth as the place is surrounded on all sides by Lolo families, and even if they could escape from one village or clan [79] to another, they would instantly be discovered because of their language and other alien traits and recaptured as slaves for a new household in another village. Therefore, of all the hundred [sic] captured Han-Chinese slaves, not one has escaped. In visiting the Liang Shan area, the author met no less than a hundred Han-Chinese slaves who wore tattered clothes and who toiled everywhere. Sometimes the newly captured slaves could hardly endure the torture. When they saw the inspection team, they wept silently, their faces covered with tears. Some would send a secret message to arrange for ways and means to escape from the tiger's mouth.

567 [77] In their treatment of Han-Chinese slaves, the Lolo are doubly harsh to the newcomers, who have to work the whole day long without sufficient food and clothing. They suffer a fate worse than that of horses and cattle. Male Han-Chinese slaves are required to keep the t'ien p'u-sa and the female a braid; the male slaves all wear tattered Lolo clothes and from their appearance, they look very much acculturated to Lolo life, but unless they have been in Lolo territory for a long time, they find it difficult to learn the language. After a long period, probably several years in duration, when the master finds a male Han-Chinese slave truly tamed and obedient, he would then purchase for him a female slave, also a Han-Chinese, for [582] a wife. Male and female slaves of Han-Chinese stock have to marry each other as there is little intermarriage between Han-Chinese slaves and the white Lolo, who look down upon the Han-Chinese. After marriage the children born into the family automatically become slaves also, their status being predetermined by birth. If they win the master's favor, they may establish, after three or four generations, their own households

567 and family units. In time they forget their Han-Chinese an-
177 cestry and gradually attain the position of white Lolo subjects. During the author's travels in the Yen-ch'ih Pa and Tso-erh-wo area, he secretly observed three white Lolo families that were Han-Chinese five or six generations ago. They were so deeply acculturated that they did not wish to make known their Han-Chinese origin for fear they would be looked down upon. The author met an old couple who were gathering fuel back of the mountain at San-ho-i-ta. The old man, a Han-Chinese with the surname Hu, had been in the Lolo territory for more than 40 years. His wife, who was captured at Hai-nao Pa and taken to Liang Shan 20 years ago, was given him by his master. With them were two female slaves from another household, one a second generation Han-Chinese and the other of the third generation. The inspection team gave each of them some thread and needles. Pointing to the third generation female slave, the old man said to the author, "She is already a man-tzu [barbarian]; you don't have to give her these articles." From his remark can be seen the process of acculturation of a Han-Chinese slave.

567 There does not seem to be a well-defined rule for the promotion of Han-Chinese slaves to white Lolo "subjects" because of the long time involved in the transition; furthermore, the situation varies with locality. Actually, the distinction between Han-Chinese slaves and white Lolo is not as strict as that between black and white Lolo. Several situations can be cited to illustrate this point: (1) absolutely no white Lolo can be promoted to the black Lolo status, whereas Han-Chinese slaves may some day become white Lolo; (2) although white
● [582] Lolo and Han-Chinese slaves usually do not intermarry, this interdiction is not strictly enforced as there are cases of white Lolo men openly competing [80] for the hand of a beautiful Han-Chinese girl; (3) besides his master, a Han-Chinese slave has no obligation to serve other white Lolo and thus has about the same social position as they do, unlike a white Lolo who has to act humbly and assume a subordinate position in front of any black Lolo.

Usually it is difficult for a Han-Chinese slave to leave Lolo territory, but if his relatives in the Han-Chinese area can locate him and discover his master's branch, his family can try to ransom him by negotiating the fee through a middleman. The following example will serve to show the circumstances relating to the redemption of Han-Chinese slaves.

567 At the battle of Shan-leng Kang in 1919, Wang Wen-ying,
115 secretary to the commander of the P'u-an military camp, was

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

186 582 197 I asked my companion and guide, Mr Long, whether these women and girls would not prefer to live in Chinese territory, where there are more people and markets and towns, and supplies of clothing are more easily procured. He laughed, and said the women preferred the free life of the hills away from the Chinese, and would not change their lot if they could possibly help it. The pure Nosu woman would never think of marrying a Chinese. There are some cases of slave girls marrying Chinese, and the masters at times encourage this, because the Chinese then tends to become a slave also, at the disposal of the girl's master. Mr Long had a slave girl, a white Nosu, who was given to a Chinese tailor who came to the house seeking work. When the affair was finally settled the tailor agreed to give sixty days of free tailoring each year to Mr Long's second wife in return for the privilege of marrying the girl. When the tailor could save up enough money he was going to purchase and so free his wife. He had offered sixteen ounces of silver but the girl's mistress had stuck out for twenty ounces, and when I was there no bargain had yet been completed. I heard later on that the girl repented that she had agreed to be married to the Chinese tailor but she had been unable to get out of the engagement. Though there are a few cases such as this, the Nosu as a rule intermarry with Nosu.

000 Chatting away, and learning all I could about the land and the people, we began to near the end of the day's journey. Some of the latter part of the road was very bad. There was one lot of rocks we had to climb around, where they say even monkeys have to be shod with iron shoes before they can climb over it. We managed to negotiate the monkey-puzzling cliffs without mishap, and soon after came to a great pine-

177 Liang-shan. For this reason it is necessary for us to make a field study there. Such a study would be of particular interest to ethnographers, linguists and sociologists.

186 In Liang-shan one often finds mixtures of the original Wa-tzu (one type of I) and Chinese captives who have been forced to become Wa-tzu and thereafter have no way of escape. The distinct separation of the Wa-tzu and the Heh-I, who try very hard to maintain their purity, is handed down throughout the ages and cannot be overcome. [582] [834] There is no intermarriage between the Heh-I and the Wa-tzu. Should a Heh-I man rape a woman of the Wa-tzu class, it is considered an intolerable disgrace to the race. It is an even greater crime for a woman of the Heh-I class to have sexual intercourse with a male Wa-tzu, and the punishment for both guilty parties would be death. Such practices remind one of Germany under Hitler's rule. The reasons for the Heh-I's attempt to preserve /97/ racial purity and their practices in this respect are exactly the same as those of the Nazis. The boastful Heh-I likewise consider themselves the most accomplished race as well as the warrior class, and look upon the Chinese and other racial groups with contempt. 565 In Liang-shan society the relationship of the Heh-I and Wa-tzu is based on co-operation and the division of labor into three /sic/ categories: the upper class Heh-I do not concern themselves with production but engage only in warfare and governing, thus forming a sort of warrior or ruling class; the Wa-tzu are the producers or agricultural labor class. This is almost exactly the same as Nazi Germany's national philosophy (stressing "Deutschland über alles" and intent on reducing the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, etc., to the status of laborers controlled by the Germans). It is possible to see from this that the prevalent Nazi theories are about to lead the world back to the Lolo stage.

177 131 [181] The majority of the Lolo in Yünnan province and those in the Ning districts of Yueh-sui, Mien-ning, Yen-yüan, Yen-pien, etc. have been very much sinified, and are known as "Shou-I." /sinified Lolo/. The fiercest and most overbearing of the I are concentrated in the Liang-shan region, in which Chao-chüeh and Lei-po have the most ruthless and complex branches, and Ma-pien and Ô-pien, by comparison, the gentlest and simplest. All the I areas in Lei-po hsien are part of the Hsiao Liang-shan region and are inhabited mostly by the Wa-tzu attached to the Heh-I of Ta Liang-shan. These Wa-tzu, although disposed to plunder, are not so fierce and haughty as their masters. The main region occupied by the so-called Sheng-I or Yen-I (those who have been very little sinified as compared with the Shou-I)

other Orientals. 000

The so-called pi-mo (Bemo) among the Lolo probably correspond to the shih-kung /male instructors/ among the Chinese, and hold a very important position in Lolo society. The I have no formal religious beliefs, nor do they worship gods; they do not even have ancestral tablets at home. But like other primitive tribes, they have a strong superstitious belief in ghosts and spirits. They do not administer medicine to cure the sick, who are supposed to have been possessed by demons, but kill chickens (ta chi) or sheep (ta yang) as a form of prayer to the spirits. They kill a chicken to cure a light illness; for more serious illness, they kill a pig, a sheep or a cow in proportion to the severity of the case. At the same time a pi-mo is invited to pray and exorcise the ghosts through sacrifices. If there is no recovery after all these endeavors they consider the case as hopeless and accept death, in which case the pi-mo is invited again to pray and release the soul from sufferings in the next world. Their only scientific measure against contagious diseases is to isolate a victim and his dwelling from others so as to prevent the disease from spreading. For this reason a place may be shut off for several weeks. [756] 755

The pi-mo are the only ones among the I versed in the Lolo language. They belong to the Wa-tzu class but are respected by the Heh-I because of their special position as scholars and exorcisers of ghosts in the Lolo society. They can practice only after several years of of apprenticeship with a senior pi-mo. They are called upon to attend all important affairs as well as cases of sickness and funerals mentioned above. They also participate in weddings and New Year festivals. Their other responsibilities include fortune-telling and choosing propitious days for fighting blood-feuds among themselves or joining in battle against the Chinese. 756

The different I branches may be either "ch'in chia" /relatives/ or "yüan chia" /enemies/. The I of the same branch cannot intermarry for the same reason that among the Chinese there is "no marriage between those of the same family name." The prospective bride or groom is usually chosen from a neighboring I branch. With repeated marriages, family relationships may be either manifold or interlinked; e.g., the three chia of Wu-po, A-lu and Ma-shih in the Ta-Liang-shan region are all related to one another. The branches related through marriages are called "ch'in chia" and work closely together, /117/ giving mutual aid in times of trouble even at the risk of death. They are as close to one another as those of the same clan (those who belong to the same branch. 582 596

/171 cont'd/

L 592 591 P. 161: Thus it is at least when children are married at the age of 16 or 18 years. Unfortunately, the Lo-lo P'o also have the detestable habit of marrying their children from the age of ten or 12 years and /172/ even often earlier, from the age of four or six years. In this case, the children do not sleep together after the marriage. Generally even, the girl returns to her parents in the evening. About the age of 16 years they will have the girl come back. It is a rare thing for her to come back to have relations with her husband; on the average 98 out of 100 girls thus married do not want their husbands and seek a lover. The girl stays at her husband's home, and it is at his home that her lover comes each night, while the husband goes to spend the night with another woman. And note it well, although the wife works with her husband and eats at the same table, under no circumstances would she have relations with him.

L 595 In most of the Lo-lo tribes in Yunnan, polygamy is not practiced (exception made for the t'ou-se), except in the very rare cases where the first wife is sterile. In this case the husband, together with his first wife, chooses a second one.

/173/

Conclusion

The Principal Rite of Marriage

After studying marriage among the T'ou-jen, it is wholly natural to wonder what is the principal rite of marriage.

Mo [101] 121 Since the T'ou-jen with whom we deal are an amalgamation of true Mongols and of Mongolized Cha-t'ouo, it seems that to solve this problem it is necessary to compare the marriage ceremonies practiced among the T'ou-jen with those in use among the Mongols or the groups of Mongolized peoples; and that, moreover, one must take into account the civilizations of the neighboring peoples, which have been able to change or influence ways and customs either in the past or in the present. Thus one can hope to discover a ceremony practiced by all the groups in all marriages from the most solemn to the simplest.

[175 cont.]
They call themselves by the names of "Heu-lolo" ("Black
101 Lolo") or "Peu-lolo" ("White Lolo") and in a more general way by the name of "Dji" (or "Gni"), which is that of the large tribe from which they originated. The Annamese sometimes call them "Man-Khoanh" (which is, "Man with the stripes") because of the numerous
[291] horizontal, multicolored bands from forming the sleeves of the women's jackets.

Among the many varieties of natives who are met with in Upper
142 Tonkin, the "Lolo" is the one whose type most nearly approaches our western type and they often are compared to the Bohemian type. Their appearance and their way of carrying their heads are noble and unconstrained. The eyebrows are horizontal; their color swarthy or copper. The women are slender and graceful, their bearing very elegant (1).

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1. "The 'Lolo' women, amiable and stylish, are much sturdier than the Chinese women. They have not yielded to the fashion of foot-binding and work in the fields, alongside the men, always cheerful and ready to rest from labor by singing and dancing. They are considered the most beautiful women of the province, and frequently Chinese choose their legitimate wives from among these natives, some of whom, yes, many of whom, seem absolutely like Europeans, except for their clothing. Also they wear, here and there multicolored aprons which recalls those of the Slovak women of Hungary." E. Reclus, op. cit., p. 456.

142 La "Lolotte" is famous for the lightness of her coloring, the fineness of her profile, and the beauty of her eyes.

142 The "Lolo" type makes an impression at the first contact, especially because he presents so striking a contrast to the neighboring
582 types. This general characteristic remains constant, as the "Lolo"

[175 cont.]

142 marry only with persons of the same tribe. A fact, however, which
582 does not prevent them, as we have indicated above, from adopting
[177] the customs and even the costumes of the other groups, but without going as far as a "misalliance."

While the "Lolo" of China have retained the character of
181 warriors and plunderers, the "Lolo" of Tonkin are of a peaceful and rather indolent disposition, which frequently places them in a position of inferiority in relation to their more energetic and active neighbors.

273 [176] They often use alcohol, tobacco, and especially opium
276 to excess.

The "Lolo" of Upper Tonkin use Burmo-Tibetan idioms, whose
197 vocabularies vary noticeably from one tribe to another.

The elements of the sentence follow one another in the follow-
193 ing order: subject, adjective, direct complement, verb, indirect complement, preposition.

Example: My good father sells (his) house to (a) man.
(of) me the father good house sells man to.

198 They use the "kouan-hoa" and sometimes the "Thai" as lan-
212 guages of commerce; they use Chinese characters for their writing.

They have no special form of writing and are not acquainted with the writing used by the "Lolo" of Yunnan.

Moreover, they are rather intelligent and capable of receiving
153 a certain degree of culture.

The men are progressively adopting the costume of the "Thai";
291 however, they preserve a suit of the distinctive tribal costume in
[177] which to be dressed after their death, so that their ancestors may be able to recognize them. The "Lolo" costume consists:

1. Of a short jacket, opened widely in front of the chest and not reaching below the belt.

2. Of a wide pantaloon, bearing at the lower part of the legs an embroidered band done with red-and-yellow thread and representing squares and triangles separated by broken lines.

3. Of a turban of very dark-blue material, whose extremities bear embroidery similar to that on the pantaloon.

[302] No part of the head is shaved. The hair is wound in a chignon behind the head and bound in the turban.

[181 cont.]

769 778 nine knots for a woman, serve as armatures for figurines made from tufts of paper. These figurines, which are of a height of about ten centimeters, are fastened to the partition which forms the ancestral altar.

793 The "Lolo" have priests-sorcerers who pass down the traditions by word of mouth.

181 53 The "Lolo" are of a rather happy disposition, and like the "Meo" they neglect no opportunity for feasting. They perform singing dances, the boys on one side, and the girls on the other. These dances are accompanied by the musical instruments of which we have spoken above.

[182] The "F'ou-la"

101 [131] The "F'ou-la" form a tribe of the "Lolo" group which is represented in Tonkin by only a hundred people, spread in small hamlets the length of the frontier, in the regions of Hoang-Su-Phi, Muong-khuong, and Baxat.

The "Thai" call them the "P'ou-la."

In their dialect, the "F'ou-la" call themselves by the name of "Peu-pa."

101 582 [167] Like the other "Lolo," the "F'ou-la" come from the provinces of the south of China and are extremely mixed with the other tribes of the frontier zone, but they also preserve their original characters by avoiding all intermarriage with their neighbors. They maintain their special type as described above with reference to the "Lolo." [181] They are timid and gentle, which constitutes a weakness in relation to the neighboring tribes, who are more energetic.

197 The vocabulary of the "F'ou-la" differs noticeably from that of the "Lolo," but evidently is related to the dialects of the group; the sentence structure is identical with that of the "Lolo."

212 198 They are not acquainted with any writing; they employ Chinese characters. Their language of commerce is the "kouan-hoa."

342 231 The "F'ou-la" live in cabins of two principal models:

1. Cabins on piles, of the type used among the "Thai," but consisting of a flooring raised only a very little above the ground